

image and interests. Have we indeed become blind, as Russia is blind in Chechnya, as Israel is blind in the Occupied Territories, to our own advice, that overwhelming military power is not the answer to terrorism? After the shambles of post-war Iraq joins the shambles in Grozny and Ramallah, it will be a brave foreigner who forms ranks with Micronesia to follow where we lead.

We have a coalition still, a good one. The loyalty of many of our friends is impressive, a tribute to American moral capital built up over a century. But our closest allies are persuaded less that war is justified than that it would be perilous to allow the U.S. to drift into complete solipsism. Loyalty should be reciprocal. Why does our President condone the swaggering and contemptuous approach to our friends and allies this Administration is fostering, including among its most senior officials? Has "oderint dum metuant" really become our motto?

I urge you to listen to America's friends around the world. Even here in Greece, purported hotbed of European anti-Americanism, we have more and closer friends than the American newspaper reader can possibly imagine. Even when they complain about American arrogance, Greeks know that the world is a difficult and dangerous place, and they want a strong international system, with the U.S. and EU in close partnership. When our friends are afraid of us rather than for us, it is time to worry. And now they are afraid. Who will tell them convincingly that the United States is as it was, a beacon of liberty, security, and justice for the planet?

Mr. Secretary, I have enormous respect for your character and ability. You have preserved more international credibility for us than our policy deserves, and salvaged something positive from the excesses of an ideological and self-serving Administration. But your loyalty to the President goes too far. We are straining beyond its limits an international system we built with such toil and treasure, a web of laws, treaties, organizations, and shared values that sets limits on our foes far more effectively than it ever constrained America's ability to defend its interests.

I am resigning because I have tried and failed to reconcile my conscience with my ability to represent the current U.S. Administration. I have confidence that our democratic process is ultimately self-correcting, and hope that in a small way our democratic process is ultimately self-correcting, and hope that in a small way I can contribute from outside to shaping policies that better serve the security and prosperity of the American people and the world we share.

**LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES REPORT
ON THE RISE OF ANTISEMITISM
IN EUROPE**

HON. HOWARD L. BERMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 4, 2003

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights for producing the report entitled "Fire and Broken Glass: The Rise of Antisemitism in Europe," which underscores the commitment of the Lawyers Committee to speak up against human rights abuses wherever they occur, and whatever form they take.

In the report, the Lawyers Committee states forthrightly that "antisemitism is racism.

Antisemitic acts need to be confronted more forcefully and treated as serious violations of international human rights." The Lawyers Committee observes that the responsibility of reporting and confronting antisemitism should not be shouldered by Jewish organizations alone; "their involvement does not relieve governments, the United Nations . . . or private human rights groups of their obligations to address antisemitism as an integral part of their work."

In pointed remarks concerning the failure of European governments to address the problem, executive director Michael Posner writes, "Too often European leaders have downplayed antisemitic acts as inevitable side-effects of the current crisis in the Middle East. We reject this reasoning as an abdication of responsibility. Criticism of Israeli policies and practices is not inherently antisemitic. But when such criticisms and related actions take the form of broadside attacks against 'Jews' or the 'Jewish State,' they become racist."

The report cites recent instances of antisemitism in Europe, laments the failure of European governments to accurately report and engage in action to combat these hate crimes, and makes a series of recommendations for steps the European governments should take. The text of the report follows.

FOREWORD

A year ago the United Nations convened the third World Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, in Durban, South Africa. The conference was intended to highlight particularly serious patterns of racism and racial discrimination around the world and to shape appropriate global responses. The meeting succeeded in raising public attention with respect to some particularly egregious situations—not least the plight of 250 million victims of caste discrimination (among them the Dalits of India—the so-called "broken people," or "untouchables").

Further, the conference provided a long overdue acknowledgment of the criminal nature of slavery ("that slavery and the slave trade are a crime against humanity and should always have been") and recommendations for the repair of its lasting consequences for people of African descent around the globe.

The conference also made clear that racism and racial discrimination need to be placed more squarely on the international human rights agenda. But what was positive in the conference process was seriously undermined when the World Conference itself became the setting for a series of antisemitic attacks. Directed primarily against representatives of Jewish groups, these attacks were fueled by the heated debates at the meeting concerning Israeli practices in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But the racist anti-Jewish animus displayed represented considerably more than criticism of Israeli policies and practices.

Most of the offensive behavior occurred during meetings of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and individual participants in a forum that paralleled the intergovernmental conference. Throughout the five-day NGO forum, antisemitic cartoons and materials were distributed widely and on display, tolerated by the forum's nongovernmental organizers. Representatives from Jewish organizations were denied access to some meetings—either physically excluded or shouted down and attacked when they were present and tried to speak. Efforts to put antisemitism on the nongovernmental agenda were roundly defeated by an assembly of

representatives and individual participants in procedures that were neither democratic nor principled.

Rather than serving as a forum for correcting racial and religious intolerance and hate, the public meetings and exhibition halls of the Durban conference became a place where pernicious racism was practiced and tolerated. Important recommendations adopted by the conference despite this environment, with a real potential to advance the fight against antisemitism—and other forms of racism—have as a consequence received inadequate attention. Some of these recommendations, concerning government monitoring and reporting on racist violence, are discussed here.

The outbursts at Durban reflect a growing trend toward antisemitic expression and violence in many parts of the world. As this report makes clear, there is an alarming rise in antisemitic violence in Europe: but it is on the rise in other parts of the world as well. Unfortunately, with the notable exception of Jewish organizations and a number of other human rights and antiracist groups and institutions, the world community—governments, intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations alike—has not responded adequately to this growing problem. Antisemitism is racism. Antisemitic acts need to be confronted more forcefully and treated as serious violations of international human rights.

This report highlights the inadequacy of efforts by European governments to systematically monitor and report on antisemitic threats and violence—and to develop effective measures to stop it. We define antisemitism as hatred or hostility toward or discrimination against Jews as a religious, ethnic or racial group. Governments and intergovernmental organizations need to routinely incorporate facts about antisemitic assaults, arson, vandalism, desecration of cemeteries, and the proliferation of antisemitic materials on the internet into a wide range of existing human rights reporting mechanisms. Though some Jewish organizations, like the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee, are doing excellent reporting on these issues, their involvement does not relieve governments, the United Nations and its regional organizations, or private human rights groups of their obligations to address antisemitism as an integral part of their work.

In the pages that follow, we outline the scope of antisemitism, in Europe and examine some of the efforts by European governments and institutions to monitor and confront the problem. In our view these efforts are insufficient. Too often European leaders have downplayed antisemitic acts as inevitable side-effects of the current crisis in the Middle East. We reject this reasoning as an abdication of responsibility. Criticism of Israeli policies and practices is not inherently antisemitic. But when such criticisms and related actions take the form of broadside attacks against "Jews" or the "Jewish State," they become racist.

In this report we make a series of recommendations as to how these abuses can better be investigated and reported in the future. These recommendations are intended as a starting point for a much larger discussion about how anti-semitism and other forms of racism can better be addressed as a more central element of the global human rights debate. At the end of last year's Durban meeting, we wrote that "[t]he subjects of this conference are the human rights issues of the 21st century. Racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance affect each of us in our own communities. All of us—governments, the UN, NGOs—must